

## EWART'S BRAVE ACT.

## HE MAKES A MANLY SPEECH AGAINST THE FEDERAL ELECTION LAW.

He Declares That the Elections of the South are Fair, and That the Laws Would Not Harm.

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

Since 1865 the South has produced and sold \$8,000,000,000 worth of cotton. With 161 mills in the year 1880, having 667,854 spindles and 323 looms, this industry has increased till the South possesses to-day over 400 mills, with over 2,250,000 spindles and 50,000 looms. The agricultural interests of the South have also marvelously increased. From 3,000,000 bales of cotton in 1870 the yield in the South advanced to 7,250,000 in 1889. Its corn production for the same period shows a gain of 270,000,000 bushels. In wheat there is an increase of 22,000,000; in oats, of 45,000,000 bushels. Comparing it with the production of the rest of the country, we find that, notwithstanding the fact that the West produced last year the largest crop of corn ever made, the increase as compared with 1879 was only 31 per cent., while that of the South's corn crop was 55 per cent.

When we consider the poverty of the South at the start and the lack of immigration and contrast it with the wealth of the North and West this agricultural progress of the South is astonishing. It is a monument to the energy of the people and a complete refutation of the statement that the people of that section devote their entire time to hunting down and shooting the colored men of the South, who constitute the main labor that harvests this immense crop. The magnitude of the investments in Southern railroads since the 1st of January, 1880, is almost beyond comprehension. In 1880 the total mileage of the country was 98,296 miles, and of this 20,562 miles, or 20 per cent, were in the South, while in 1889 the South has 49,530 miles out of a total of 161,270 miles, or 30 per cent. Her foreign commerce has increased over \$66,958,738 in nine years.

The South leads the nation in the rate of increase in national banking. Since 1879 the increase in the number of banks has been 13 per cent. in the North, 81 per cent. in the West, and 113 per cent. in the South, whilst the increase in the capital stock was nearly 4 per cent. in the North, 95 per cent. in the West, and 70 per cent. in the South. In manufacturing enterprises, in the last four years, we have established over fourteen thousand, and the list is daily increasing. In this prosperity the blacks, to a very great extent, have shared with the whites. They pay taxes on over \$400,000,000 of property in the Southern States, and are making marvelous and rapid improvements in their financial, social and moral condition. Their legal rights in the main are jealously protected, except in a few sections of the South where ignorance and brute force unite in refusing to the negro such rights as he is entitled to under the Constitution and laws of our land.

As to his political rights, speaking for my own State, I unhesitatingly assert that no Republican in the State, black or white, is prevented from casting his vote. The elections are absolutely fair. (Applause.) Here and there, as is the case in perhaps any State in the Union, local returning boards assume to throw out certain precincts for alleged irregularities, and in that way often wrongs are done. Representatives from other States can speak for their own sections; I only speak positively for my own. It has been alleged that grave frauds were perpetrated in the Second district, and yet it is a fact that the United States courts in that district have just adjourned without finding a single bill of indictment. It is proper that I should state that both the judge and district attorney are Republicans. In other States of the South the negro vote is suppressed under the forms of law, and in other sections still there is violence and stealing of ballot-boxes.

The United States Senate for the past twelve years has openly proclaimed to the people of the United States that they place no credence in the allegation that elections in the South are fraudulent. Why do I make this statement? Almost every year they have seated, without protest or question, United States Senators elected by Democratic legislators in the South. If the Congressional elections in the South are tainted with fraud, the election of members to the State Legislatures, who elect these Senators, are equally vitiated. The Republican majority, in allowing these Senators to take their seats without questioning their right or title to the same, have either committed a grave wrong against their own conscience, or tacitly admit by their action that there is no truth in the allegation of Southern election frauds and outrages.

I am not going to exonerate the white race of the South from all blame in this matter. There are bad and murderous men in certain sections of the South who hate the negro, and whenever opportunity offers they wreak their vengeance upon them. Sometimes they are severely punished, sometimes they are not. But, because a few lawless men from time to time commit crime, should the entire people of the South be blamed for it and be stigmatized as the sympathizers of a band of assassins and murderers? I am sick and tired of this sentimental talk of the negro problem in the South. There is no negro problem in the South! It is the same question that existed in 1865, when 4,000,000 of slaves became freedmen and 1,000,000 voters were dumped upon the South with the right of suffrage! Side by side they have lived since and side by side they will live till the last syllable of recorded time.

The negro citizen of 1890 differs from the negro citizen of 1865 in many important essentials. He is better educated, more self-reliant, has more property, and is better qualified to think and act for himself. The negro is imitative. If a white man buys a horse the negro buys a horse; if a white man paints his house white with green blinds the negro paints his house white with green blinds; if a white man sends his children to school the negro sends his children to school; if the white man finds it necessary to protect his rights at the ballot-box the negro will sooner or later do the same thing.

The negro to-day is thinking for himself. He is entitled to all kindness and consideration at the hands of the Southern man. In the late war, when the men were at the front and the enemy was within Southern borders, it was the faithful negro who stood as a body-guard to defend the mistress of the

mansion. For the faithfulness, constancy, and patience during those four years the Southern people owe the negro a debt they can never repay. Brave and honorable men will treat them with kindness and justice. It is only the ingrate and coward who will persecute and maltreat the faithful and inoffensive black man of the South.

I am sick and tired of this talk about the negro problem at the South. There is no negro problem at the South. It is a new question there. It is the same question that existed when the shackles were struck off the limbs of four millions of slaves; it is the same question that existed in 1865, when nearly one million slaves were given the right of suffrage. It is not a problem. Side by side the blacks have been there with the whites since the war, and side by side they will be with them until the last syllable of recorded time. (Applause.)

I know the negro. I ought to know more about him than the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts. There are no more faithful, generous, or kind-hearted people upon God's green earth. Give them the education that they are so eagerly striving to obtain, and the country will have no more useful class of citizens than they will prove to be. But instill into their minds that the white people of the South are their enemies, that they desire to crush them, to strip them of their legal rights, and you do the negro a wrong that you can never atone for. I say that to day the negro is thinking for himself. It is a delusion to suppose that he is voting the Republican ticket solidly. He is doing nothing of the kind. Thousands of them to-day are voting the Democratic ticket as willingly and as openly as the Republican ticket is voted by myself or any of my colleagues on this floor.

It is getting more and more difficult every year for the Republican party to control him. Thousands, as I have stated, openly vote them Democratic ticket. Thousands do not manifest interest enough in an election to go to the polls. He is growing skeptical about certain pledges and promises which have been made and broken by the political organization to which he is loyal. Widespread dissatisfaction exists among the colored voters of the South to-day. There never was a proposition so dear to the negro heart as the Blair educational bill. The negro knows the power of education. He looked eagerly to the great Republican party to redeem in honor and good faith the pledge it had made in its platform at Chicago to extend national aid to the common-school system of the country.

When the news was flashed over the wires that the Republican party had won a great victory, that both the executive and legislative branches of the Government were in our hands, a mighty shout went up in our hands, a mighty shout went up in the Republican hosts of the South. Knowing that the Republican Senate had three times passed the Blair educational bill, knowing that the President when a Senator had voted for the bill, knowing that with a Republican majority in the House its passage, unless obstructed by the Speaker, was a foregone conclusion and fully realizing that the same great necessities existed to day for the passage of the measure as existed ten years ago, the Republicans of the South confidently looked forward to the speedy redemption of the party's pledge.

Warned by the treatment given by Carlisle in the Fifteenth Congress, Southern Republicans by their votes placed in the chair a Speaker for whom the assurance was positively given that there would be no such arbitrary and despotic treatment of the measure as had been given it by Speaker Carlisle in the Fifth Congress. But the pledge so solemnly made in the Chicago platform has been wantonly and cruelly violated. A Republican Senate has deliberately killed the educational bill. It was a blow that went straight to the negro heart and will not soon be forgotten or forgiven. It was as cowardly an abandonment of principles as a great party was ever guilty of! The failure to pass that bill has caused wide dissatisfaction among the colored voters of the South.

Speaking for my own State, I can safely say that the election was to take place to-morrow, not three tenths of the colored votes in the State would be cast for the nominees of the Republican party. Why was that great measure so ruthlessly slaughtered in the Senate? The excuse rendered by certain Senators is that it was no longer a necessity. No longer a necessity? Why not? Because it is said the Southern State Democratic governments were doing what that Senate did not have the magnanimity and courage to do, appropriating ample funds for the education of the negro in the South, thereby elevating him to a higher plane, teaching him the great duties of citizenship and enabling him to protect his rights at the ballot-box. The defeat of that measure must have been intended as a formal notice to the country that the Republicans that body attach no importance to a statement that the negro was maltreated in the South, deprived of his political rights and kept in ignorance by the dominant party for political purposes.

Perhaps the reason was correctly given by a distinguished Senator who, in reply to the statement of a Southern Republican Representative that the negroes would resent their action in defeating the bill at the next election, coolly replied that they might do so and "go to the devil," as they were of no use to the Republican party anyhow. It matters not, however, what brought about the defeat of the bill. I simply assert that the negro regards it as a cowardly abandonment of his interests. It has no parallel except in 1876, when Hayes, with the full assent of the party leaders, left him to his fate in order to secure the Presidency for the Republican party.

Perhaps the defeat of this bill, after all, may prove a blessing in disguise. It tends to disintegrate the blacks in the South, if it teaches them the fallacy of depending on the hypocritical promises of political parties who wish their votes. If it drives thousands of them into the Democratic party and breaks up the solidarity of the black vote, then comes inevitably the breaking up of the white vote of men in the South to-day who are protectionists at heart who would identify themselves with the Republican party to-day but for the scare-crow of negro supremacy and negro domination.

Every year the Republican party in Tennessee, North Carolina and the two Virginias is becoming stronger and more aggressive. It is not acquiring this strength by making morbid appeals to the negro and by exciting their passions and prejudices, but by appealing to the sober judgment of the white voters of

the South on the great issue of protection to home industries and home labor. Democratic power is prevailing in the Democratic States in almost every State in the South. I send to the clerk's desk, to the nation that these frauds are committed in the South, and that they ought to be stopped. I agree with you. But you must remember one thing. This government does not exist to save the negro from the struggle for his rights. My rights are not protected by the United States government, but by the State of which I am a citizen, by the laws of that State, and more especially by my own capacity, my education, my ability to protect my rights at the ballot-box.

My State has, in the fourth judicial district, a negro solicitor, the State's attorney—elected by a majority of the voters of that district, an able and capable lawyer. Have you gentlemen of the North, ever elected a negro prosecutor in any of your districts?

My State sends a colored Congressman to the Fifty-first Congress, an able, capable and faithful Representative. Where are the colored Congressmen from the North?

How many negro postmasters are there in the States of Maine, Michigan, Iowa and Illinois?

You may mourn over the wrongs of the negro, you may deplore them. No doubt he is as dear to you as the ruddy drops that visit your sad hearts, but I would be glad to see you exhibit a little more practical sympathy and less sentimental gush in his behalf. You will tell me that I am suggesting no remedy for the political state of affairs in the South. Yes, there is a remedy, and that is to mind your own affairs and treat the colored man of the South with "wise and salutary neglect." I mean, of course, in a political sense. If you are too penurious to help him by educating him, at least him alone. It was Burke who said that "a clamor made merely for the purpose of rendering the people discontented without an endeavor to give them a practical remedy is indeed one of the worst acts of sedition." Such conduct is worthy only of demagogues like Cleon, or scheming politicians like Burr. I am tired of this rot and fustian about the poor negro and down-trodden Republicans of the South. The negro of the South is doing well.

Do not let the Southern party have the epitaph of the Indian—"I was well. I wanted to feel better. I took physic, and here I am." (Laughter.) The Republican party of the South is doing well. We have here from North Carolina with as many Republican Representatives as the great State of Indiana has in Congress to-day. (Loud laughter and applause.) The votes of Southern Representatives made it possible for you to organize this House. We will continue to increase our numbers if you will let us alone. Perhaps in the near future, when we come here with fifty Southern Republican Representatives, we may be able to secure a committee of a little more importance than that of the Committee on Expenditures in the Post-office Department. (Laughter.)

There is much that you could do for us if you would, of infinitely more value from a political standpoint than the enactment of a Federal election law. You could give us legislation that could gain more votes for the Republican party than all the Federal election laws you could pass from now till doomsday. You might pass a law granting aid to the common-school system of the country. If you are afraid the Democratic State governments will steal the funds let a Federal board of education disburse it; no matter how it comes, educate the poor negro in the South, educate the poor white man in the South, then you elevate him, you teach him the duties of citizenship. When you do that you can rely upon it he will be amply able to take care of himself at the ballot-box. You say this will take too long a time. Better let it take time than pass a law which will delay it indefinitely, bring about bloodshed, sadden many a heart, desolate many a home, and breed inextricable confusion all over the country. Let these distinguished gentlemen who mourn at the woes of the negro and indirectly instigate murder and arson by wondering at the patience and long-suffering of the persecuted negro of the South and then coolly and cruelly vote down the only proposition that we ever introduced in the American Congress to enable him to protect himself from the persecution of his enemies cease their clamor. There is still another way you may help the Republicans of the South. The only agricultural product that is taxed to-day is tobacco, almost entirely a Southern product. In the platform at Chicago the party is pledged to repeal that tax.

The whole system of internal-revenue taxation ought to be stricken from our statute books. In many sections of our country it is a law that has to be enforced in the blood and tearing of our people. I have known poor mountaineers dragged from their homes and little ones a hundred miles away, tried and convicted by a Federal court, and thrown into a filthy jail for selling a little pipe of twisted tobacco, the product of his little hill-side home. Scores upon scores of lives have been lost in the enforcement of this law, and still to the shame and degradation of the American people it remains upon our statute books. The National Prohibition party demand its repeal; the Woman's Christian Temperance Union have time and time again asked Congress to strike out the odious law from our statute books; the national platform at Chicago distinctly asserts that it will abandon the entire system of internal-revenue taxation before it will interfere with the American protection system. In politics, as in business, honesty is the best policy. You have given us some measure of relief in the McKinley tariff bill.

The Senate, in utter contempt of the platform at Chicago, has stricken the provision from the McKinley bill relieving the growers of tobacco from the onerous and inquisitorial features of the law. Another cowardly abandonment of principle, another broken pledge to Southern Representatives! We asked you for relief from this great burden imposed upon our people. You turn a deaf ear to our requests. We ask fish, you have given us a stone; we ask fish, you have thrown us a serpent in the shape of a Federal election law. There is still another way in which you may assist us. Whisper in the ear of your Chief Executive, of the President of the United States, that when he appoints district attorneys in the South to appoint men who are not afraid to avow their Republicanism and who have nerve and backbone enough

I say possibly. My honest belief is that if you pass this law not a corporal guard of Southern Republicans will be on this floor in the Fifty-second Congress. You say that it is a scandal to the nation that these frauds are committed in the South, and that they ought to be stopped. I agree with you. But you must remember one thing. This government does not exist to save the negro from the struggle for his rights. My rights are not protected by the United States government, but by the State of which I am a citizen, by the laws of that State, and more especially by my own capacity, my education, my ability to protect my rights at the ballot-box.

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to do their whole duty. [Applause on the Republican side.]

We have laws enough on the statute books to lay if they were enforced as they ought to be. But you will never have them enforced with weaklings as district attorneys! Suppose you pass this law. In all probability your first test case would be in the State of South Carolina. You have a district attorney in that State appointed by this Administration who has not the nerve of a tuck rabbit, and would require proof as strong as holy writ before he would send a bill of indictment against a South Carolina red-shirt ballot-box stuffer. (Laughter.) In other States in the South you have district attorneys who actually did not have the moral courage to vote the Republican ticket at the last election.

Do you suppose for a moment that you could induce a district attorney who actually did not have backbone enough to go to the polls and vote, to prosecute a set of desperate violators of this election law? These are measures of relief which, if accorded to the Republicans of the South, would gradually and eventually break up the solid South, and are worth more to Southern Republicans than all the national election laws you can pile upon your statute books. Southern Republicans are not demanding the passage of this measure. The able and distinguished gentleman from Louisiana, Mr. Coleman, stands with me in bitter opposition to it. There are other Southern Republicans who are known to be opposed to it and will vote against it; others there are still who, though impelled by party consideration may vote for the measure, know that it is an unwise and impolitic one. I have the satisfaction of knowing that the best element of my party in North Carolina heartily indorse my course in this matter, and that my district is almost solidly against the bill. I have a letter on the subject from one of the leading Republicans in my State. He says:

I heartily endorse your course on the Lodge election bill. I consider the policy chosen a law at this time as very vicious, because, in the State at least, there is great apathy among the negroes, some avowing their intention of voting the Democratic ticket, and many more saying that they will not vote at all. The moral result of this state of things with the blacks is the production of an independent feeling and expression among the whites, so that it is now far from an unusual thing to hear white men of position declare that they will no longer be led by the nose in political matters. The passage of an election law would have the tendency to re-convert the negro in his former party allegiance, and rekindle the passions of the white man, thus making it possible for the Democrats to enforce the Payne election law all over this State. I hope you will be able to convince your views with sufficient force to convince our friends North that the passage of such a bill, unless enforced by an army, which no man dreams of or desires, will be a mere waste of time, and an only result in perpetuating the present state of ill-feeling and party prejudice in the South, which now shows such evident signs of abating.

One of the most prominent colored men in my district, and a leader of his people, earnestly indorses my views on the election bill and predicts trouble and disaster to his race if it passes. John H. Williamson, the editor of the Gazette, the leading colored paper in the State, and an ex-member of ability and standing in the Legislature of 1886, writes me that he heartily approves my course and unites with me in warning the leaders of the party against this pernicious legislation. With the exception of that variety of Southern Republicans who desire to see only a skeleton Republican party in the South in order that the area of official availability may be as limited as possible, I have the hearty indorsement of my party in opposing this measure. (Applause.) But if I did not, Mr. Speaker, it would not have affected my action in this matter. Whilst I may have politically sacrificed myself here, I have the proud satisfaction of knowing that I have done my duty, and having done that, in possession of a "peace within me that exceeds all earthly dignities, a still and quiet conscience." I am a Republican—a Southern Republican. Born and bred in the hot-bed of secession and disunion, the city of Columbia, I well recollect when as a lad I stood upon the streets of that city and cheered those who were nearest and dearest to me as they marched to their deaths upon the bloody fields of Gettysburg and Shiloh. Almost every one of my blood perished in that struggle. They were brave and honorable men who fought for what they considered to be a great principle, and I have no apologies or excuses to render in their behalf! Standing upon the threshold of manhood, I chose to identify myself with the Republican party because I believed it to be the party of progress, of right, and of justice.

My first vote was cast for that brave soldier and magnanimous President, Ulysses S. Grant, who, if he were here to-day, would discountenance and frown upon this measure. (Applause.) I know what it is to be a Republican in the South. I have passed through the ordeal and I know what a fiery one it is. Ten years ago I made a campaign as elector on the Hayes and Wheeler ticket with pistol in hip pocket, never knowing the moment when I would be required to use it. I have had the mournful pleasure of gazing upon my grave and reading my own epitaph! But, thank God, all that is changed now. I represent a district to day that has a majority of white Republicans, in the ranks of which are our bravest young men, our largest tax-payers, and our best people. This political change has not been wrought by appeals to passion or prejudice, but to the cool, sober sense of the people. Northern capital is pouring into the district, and the next census will show it to be the richest in the State.

I do not desire to check this prosperity by voting for legislation that will prove inimical to their best interests. I do not know what course other Southern Republican Representatives may take in this matter, but, speaking for myself, I will never by my vote or voice support a proposition that tends to humiliate or degrade my people. I shall, if I am the only Republican on this floor, protest against the passage of a law that will sow the foul seeds of factional discord among the people, be a fruitful cause of unutterable woe to the unfortunate class it is designed to benefit. If that be treason to the party to which I have ever been loyal, make the most of it. (Prolonged applause.)

Such is the speech. No Democrat will endorse it all. Mr. EWART gives the Republican view in the South. I do not endorse that, but I do commend, as will all North Carolinians, his bold stand and his many wise utterances.

J. D.



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